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second chamber; but the view prevailed that this subject should be left for separate legislation, and on November 15 the bill as it came from the house of commons was carried through the final stages. At the elections in December one woman was elected a member of the house of commons.

It is of interest to observe that whereas women may vote at the age of thirty and upwards, the recent act fixes no age limit for election to the chamber. In Holland, however, women have no parliamentary votes at all, yet can become candidates for parliament; indeed, a school teacher of Rotterdam lately became the first female M. P. in that country. Women are eligible for election both to the Danish and to the Finnish parliaments; and at the 1916 elections in Finland 24 women, or 12 per cent of the total number of members, were returned. In Norway women are eligible not only for election to parliament but for appointment to the council of state or cabinet. No Norwegian woman has yet secured election to parliament, but some years ago one was chosen a deputy-representative. Two women were elected in 1917 to the legislature of the Canadian province of Alberta; but this has been the only instance of the sort in the history of the British Empire before the above-mentioned legislation. In this general connection will be recalled, of course, the election of the first female member of Congress in the United States in 1916.

Political Developments in Germany, 1917-1918. A former issue of the REVIEW (November, 1917) contained a résumé of German political affairs from the outbreak of the great war to the accession of Chancellor Michaelis, July 14, 1917. The summary will here be continued to the abdication of Emperor William II in November, 1918.

The appointment of Michaelis came at a time when the imperial government was under fire, both in the Reichstag and throughout the country. The Russian revolution and the entrance into the war by the United States had given a new impetus to the movement for political reform. The Reichstag had set up a special committee to consider electoral and other constitutional changes, and the debates had grown so violent as to lead to the prorogation of the chamber for a month. The emperor had publicly admitted the necessity of reform, but had insisted upon delay until after the war. The Center party, led by Erzberger, had joined the Radicals and the Social Democrats on a program of "peace without annexations," coupled with democratic constitutional reform. Confronted by this hostile *bloc*, the government had

agreed to carry out a reform of the Prussian electoral system before the next elections. And when this concession proved unavailing, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg had resigned, the scapegoat of a government which was trying to stem the tide of public disapproval without actually departing from its policies.

Despite the hard conditions to which he fell heir, the new chancellor had some things in his favor. He was of bourgeois origin—the first such occupant of the office—and hence might hope for reasonably agreeable relations with the Reichstag majorities. His services as Prussian food controller had commanded considerable praise. And his freedom from party entanglements promised facility in dealing with all party elements. On the other hand, he was a bureaucrat of the sycophantic type so familiar in Prussia; he had no real sympathy with liberalism; like all of William II's chancellors, he was rather an exalted clerk than an originator of policy. From the outset his appointment was widely regarded as a mere stop-gap; and such it turned out to be. His earliest pronouncements in the Reichstag, which were awaited with keen interest, were either noncommittal or frankly reactionary. Though promising to call to the leading executive positions men who possessed "the confidence of the great parties in the popular representative body," he made it clear that "the constitutional right of the Imperial administration" to determine the national policies must not be curtailed. The expectation of many liberals that consultation with the Reichstag upon ministerial appointments would prove an entering wedge for a parliamentary system of government was not realized.

Michaelis's tenure lasted only three months. Revelations of mutiny in the navy, in October, 1917, forced the minister of marine, Admiral von Capelle, to resign and eventually caused the dismissal also of the chancellor. The successor in the more important office was the Centrist Count von Hertling, a Bavarian. This appointment was considered, in some quarters at least, a concession to liberalism; but no reason for such an interpretation subsequently appeared. During the winter of 1917-18 strikes were organized in Prussia as protests against the dilatory tactics of the government in dealing with electoral reform; but the only reply was a series of arrests of prominent Socialists. In the spring of 1918, indeed, the reform movement seemed to lose ground. Inspired with fresh arrogance by the humiliation of Russia in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and by the success of the new "drive" on the western front, the Prussian reactionaries repudiated the emperor's pledges and carried, in the lower branch of the Landtag, by a vote of 235 to 183, a bill sub-

stituting an absurd six-class electoral system for the promised plan of equal suffrage. Another straw which showed which way the wind was blowing was the dismissal, in July, of foreign secretary von Kuehlmann as a punishment for saying publicly that Germany could no longer hope for a military victory, together with the appointment in his stead of the Pan-German Admiral von Hintze.

The last chapter in the history of the reform movement prior to the collapse of the Central Powers and the signing of the armistice of November 11 is the most curious of all. The tide of battle was now running strongly in favor of the Entente nations; German statesmen instinctively felt the end to be near; and dilatory discussion gave place to an earnest, even frantic, effort on the part of the imperial authorities to convince the world, and especially President Wilson, that reforms were under way which would speedily make the German government thoroughly democratic. In early September Chancellor von Hertling delivered a sensational speech before the ultra-conservative constitution committee of the Prussian upper chamber, ardently advocating electoral reform and in effect declaring that the survival of the Hohenzollern dynasty was at stake. At the reopening of the Reichstag, near the close of the month, he announced that the government was determined to carry out its program of reform, although a far-reaching alteration of the historical structure of Prussia and of the empire was not a thing to be hurried. Efforts to force the government's hand, however, led to the chancellor's retirement. The successor was another south German, Prince Maximilian, heir to the grand-ducal throne of Baden, who also entered office with a reputation for liberal views. In the new ministry were included three socialists, one of them, Philipp Scheidemann, without portfolio.

So far as words went, Germany now entered upon a new political era. On September 30 the emperor issued a proclamation affirming his desire that the German people should "co-operate more effectively than hitherto in deciding the fate of the Fatherland," and declaring his will that "men who are sustained by the people's trust shall to a great extent co-operate in the rights and duties of government." On October 2 the world was informed that the Prussian upper chamber had passed the franchise bill, so amended as to provide for direct and equal suffrage. Three days later the new chancellor declared in the Reichstag that electoral reform in Prussia must immediately be carried to completion; that "other German states which lag behind in their constitutional conditions" could be expected "resolutely to follow the Prussian example;"

and that the imperial constitution was to be amended so as to enable members of the Reichstag who "enter the Government" to retain their seats in the popular chamber, as do cabinet officers in England and France. All of these purposes were embraced in the announced program of the majority *bloc*, a combination whose backbone was the Center and which had been lately reënforced by the adhesion of the Liberal party.

The chief concern at Berlin seems to have been that President Wilson should be persuaded that the urgent correspondence concerning peace which was about to begin was with a government entirely different from that with which he had declared himself unwilling to deal. How sincere were the protestations made, how real the transformations wrought, will probably always be matters of speculation. The President's virtual demand for a popularization of the German government, first clearly made in the Mount Vernon address of July 4, was reiterated in a communication to Berlin under date of October 14. To this the foreign secretary, Dr. Solf, replied, October 21, that the imperial constitution had already been so modified that in future no government could "enter upon or carry on its work without possessing the confidence of the majority of the Reichstag." The responsibility of the chancellor, it was added, was being "legally extended and safeguarded." Finally, it was reported that the first act of the present government had been to submit a bill to the Reichstag "so amending the constitution as to make the approval of that body requisite for a decision on war and peace." Under date of October 23 the President declared that, "significant and important" as these constitutional changes seemed, it did not appear that the principle of responsible government had yet been fully worked out, or that any guarantees existed or were in contemplation that the "alterations of principle and of practice now partially agreed upon will be permanent." Five days later Emperor William proclaimed the constitutional amendment purporting to establish ministerial responsibility, and asserted that a new order now came into force which "transfers the fundamental rights of the Kaiser's person to the people."

Meanwhile the German military and diplomatic collapse was impending. The armies were everywhere being forced back; the invasion of German soil seemed only a question of time; power of resistance was fast ebbing; schemes to divide and weaken the Allies had failed; at home—even on the floor of the Reichstag—the Socialists were clamoring for a republic. The end came with unexpected swiftness. On November 9 the chancellor issued a proclamation announcing the purpose of

the Kaiser to abdicate, of the crown prince to renounce the succession, and of the chancellor himself to retire. During the next forty-eight hours, while the terms of the armistice prescribed by the Allies awaited acceptance, full control of affairs passed into the hands of a provisional government, under the leadership of Ebert as chancellor, and formed of members representing equally the Social Democratic and Independent Socialist parties. The ex-Kaiser took refuge in Holland; a dozen lesser German monarchs abdicated; new ministers took control in Bavaria and other states; and workmen's and soldiers' councils were organized in many cities. The first act of the provisional government was to accept the conditions of the armistice, November 11. Its next tasks, according to announcement, would be to negotiate peace and inaugurate economic reconstruction. Meanwhile it proposed also to arrange for a constitutional convention to work out for the former empire, as soon as conditions permitted, a permanent and democratic system of government. In December it was announced that elections to the constituent assembly—the first such body to be brought together in Germany since the "constituent Bundestag" which ratified the constitution of the North German confederation in 1867—would take place in January.

Discussion of political reform in the period under review moved, therefore, toward three main objectives: ministerial responsibility in the imperial government, popular control over war and foreign relations, and a new electoral system in Prussia. The first was nominally attained. The second was attained to this extent, that the Bundesrat approved an amendment giving the Bundesrat and Reichstag sole power to declare war except in a case where Germany should have been actually invaded or its coasts attacked. The third object was unattained when the collapse came, although a bill of substantially the sort desired had been passed by the Prussian upper house.